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Are the States Yielding Too Much Power to the Federal Government?

Moderator, JAMES F. MURRAY, JR.

Speakers

CHARLES B. BROWNSON

RICHARD BOLLING



COMING

—December 15, 1953—

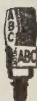
**What Are the Prospects for the President's
Legislative Program?**

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THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN

CONGRESSMAN RICHARD BOLLING—Born in New York City in 1916, Representative Bolling was educated in Tennessee at the University of the South (BA and MA) and at Vanderbilt University. His professional career has been in the teaching field, first at Sewanee Military Academy, and later, as Veterans Adviser and Director of Student Activities at the University of Kansas City. In April, 1941, Mr. Bolling volunteered as a private in the Army. Four out of his five years of service were spent overseas in Australia, New Guinea, Philippines, and Japan. His last assignment was as Assistant to General MacArthur's Chief of Staff. A recipient of the Legion of Merit and Bronze Star, he now holds the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the reserve.

Elected to the 81st Congress in 1948 and re-elected to the 82nd and 83rd Congress, Mr. Bolling is a member of the Joint House and Senate Committee on Economic Report. He is also a Member of the House Committee on Banking and Currency.

CONGRESSMAN CHARLES B. BROWNSON—Republican of Indiana. Congressman Charles B. Brownson, 39, was born in Jackson, Michigan and graduated from the University of Michigan in 1935. A "Middle-of-the-road" Republican, World War II veteran, and typical small businessman, he is president of Central Wallpaper and Paint Co., Inc., Indianapolis. Mr. Brownson is now serving his second term from the 11th Indiana District, which includes all of Marion County and the City of Indianapolis, a district almost equally divided between manufacturing, retailing, and agriculture.

In the 1953 reorganization of the House of Representatives, he was renamed to the Committee on Government Operations charged with examining efficiency and cutting costs in federal activities. On this, he is chairman of the Subcommittee International Operations now surveying more than 80 government agencies which spend U.S. taxpayers' money outside the U.S.A. He was also named to the Committee on Public Works, Subcommittee on Roads, and Subcommittee on Buildings.

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Are the States Yielding Too Much Power to the Federal Government?

Announcer:

Town Meeting tonight comes to you from Alabama Polytechnic Institute, better known as Auburn, located in the thriving agricultural area of eastern Alabama, which is also rapidly developing as an industrial center. This famous college traces its history from the year 1857, when the Alabama Conference of the Methodist church founded the East Alabama Male College. It was used as a Confederate hospital during the Civil War, after which the Methodist Church turned the school over to the state.

Co-educational since 1892, the college a few years later was renamed Alabama Polytechnic Institute, giving recognition to its expanded academic program in scientific fields. With a present enrollment of nearly 7,000 students, APTI embodies 10 schools, the largest being the school of engineering, which is considered one of the nation's finest. Auburn is also nationally known for its fine football team which has been selected for the 'Gator Bowl.

And now to preside as moderator for tonight's discussion, here is the well-known New York attorney and international counsel, James F. Murray, Jr.

Moderator Murray:

The tenth amendment to the Constitution provides that all powers which it does not delegate to the Federal Government, or which it does not prohibit to the states, are reserved to the states or to the people. Ever since the early days of our republic, the interpretation of this amendment has provoked debate. In our cen-

tury, impelled by the unprecedented stress of two world wars and a disastrous depression, the pendulum of public opinion swung far in the direction of general acceptance of centralization and federal controls.

But the presidential campaign of 1952 saw the pendulum descend in the opposite direction. General Eisenhower and, to a somewhat lesser extent, Governor Stevenson agreed that an unchecked trend toward nationalization might seriously impair our democratic system. Last spring, Congress adopted legislation introduced by the late Senator Taft, authorizing the establishment of a Commission to study federal and state conflicts and make recommendations by March of 1954. Since then the debate has sharpened. A few weeks ago the Western Governors' Conference urged withdrawal of Washington's authority in gasoline taxation and Indian affairs.

Individual spokesmen elsewhere demanded curtailment of federal activity in highway construction, education, public power, and old-age security. Others argue, however, that modern economy requires us to transfer to federal control many functions which the states can no longer perform. The problem is rapidly being crystallized for the American people. Are the states yielding too much power to the federal government? Tonight, from the famed campus of Auburn, America's Town Meeting of the Air presents two celebrated members of Congress to discuss this vital issue.

Our first speaker is Congressman

Charles B. Brownson of Indiana. Congressman Brownson was born in Jackson, Michigan, and graduated from the University of Michigan in 1935. A middle-of-the-road Republican, a veteran of World War II, and typical small businessman, he is now serving his second term from the 11th district in Indiana, a district almost equally divided between manufacturing, retailing, and agriculture.

In the 1953 reorganization of the House of Representatives, he was renamed to the committee on government operations, charged with examining efficiency and cutting costs in federal activities. He is the Chairman of the Subcommittee on International Operations, now surveying more than 80 government agencies which spend United States taxpayers' money outside of the United States. He was also named to the Committee on Public Works, Subcommittee on Roads, and Subcommittee on Buildings.

Welcome to Town Meeting of the Air, Congressman Charles B. Brownson. (*Applause*)

Congressman Brownson:

Thank you, Mr. Murray. Congressman Bolling, ladies and gentlemen, perhaps the best way to state my position on this subject tonight is to quote from a resolution passed by the state legislature of my home state, Indiana, in 1947. I quote: "Be it resolved by the House of Representatives of the General Assembly of the State of Indiana, the Senate concurring, that we respectfully petition and urge Indiana's Congressmen and Senators to vote to fetch our county courthouse and our city halls back from Pennsylvania Avenue. We want government to come home."

It seems to me that the past two

decades have seen far too large a measure of big government centered in Washington. How has this shifting of power from the local to the federal level been accomplished? Well the source of federal power is primarily due to the fiscal powers of the Federal Government. The power to tax and spend, at a much greater pace than the local governmental bodies, gives the Federal Government a vehicle by which it exercises a great control over many functions of purely local interest.

To illustrate how this power to tax and spend increases the power of Washington, let me cite just one instance of how it affects matters of local concern. This power to tax and spend is exercised primarily through the device of the grants-in-aid. To qualify for these federal payments, states and local governments must put up varying amounts of their own money, but, more important, the programs for which the federal grants are made must meet federal standards. That's where the federal control enters the picture. Washington says to the states, you run these programs our way or we don't give you any money.

We've just been through that recently in Indiana in connection with a federal regulation which forbade public inspection of relief rolls. The regulation meant that only a few officials and social workers knew who was on relief. The taxpayers had no knowledge of how their money was spent. Indiana objected to the secrecy provision, but at that time Oscar Ewing, the Federal Security Administrator, threatened to cut off all the federal aid on this program if the secrecy provision was violated. The Indiana legislature ruled, nevertheless, that the welfare

rolls be open for public inspection under very careful controls, and Congress passed a law upholding Indiana. Mr. Ewing was overruled, but it took an act of Congress to do it.

Incidentally, the most vociferous critics of the program have now admitted that no hardship or lack of privacy has resulted from this revealing of the welfare rolls under supervision. The old Hoover Commission Task Force, I think, summed this up very well, commenting on the grants-in-aid system, when they said, "With grants goes control; with control goes power; with power goes centralization; and in too much centralization lies danger to our entire federal system of government."

(Applause)

Mr. Murray: Thank you very much, Congressman Brownson. And now Town Hall presents our second distinguished guest, Congressman Richard Bolling of Missouri.

Born in New York City, Representative Bolling was educated in Tennessee at the University of the South and at Vanderbilt University. His professional career has been in the teaching field; first, at Sewanee Military Academy, and later as veterans' adviser and director of student activities at the University of Kansas City. In April of 1941, Mr. Bolling volunteered as a private in the army. Four out of his five years of service were spent overseas—in Australia, New Guinea, The Philippines, and Japan. His last assignment was as assistant to General MacArthur's Chief of Staff. A recipient of the Legion of Merit and Bronze Star, he now holds the rank of lieutenant colonel in the Reserve. First elected to Congress in 1948, Mr. Bolling is a member of the Joint House and

Senate Committee on the Economic Report and a member of the House Committee on Banking and Currency.

Welcome to Town Meeting, Representative Richard Bolling of Missouri.

Congressman Bolling:

Thank you, Mr. Murray. President *D r a u g h o n*, Congressman Brownson, ladies and gentlemen, no, I don't believe that the states have yielded too much power to the Federal Government. What we are really talking about here is whether the citizens of the United States, speaking through their elected representatives in the United States Congress and the state legislatures, have made wise decisions as to what agency of government should perform certain functions. We must remember that both the Federal Government and the state governments are elected by the same people.

150 years ago, the problems of government were much simpler than they are today. It was possible then to get along with less government at all levels. But as our society changed from a relatively simple agricultural and mercantile economy, with poor or no communications, to an infinitely complex urban and industrial economy, the parts of which were bound together by the swift airplane, radio and television, more government was demanded by the people, to preserve their rights and freedoms.

Great national and international corporations, great national labor and farm organizations, were often too powerful to be held in check by state governments, and the people wisely insisted that such national organizations be regulated by the national government. In like manner, certain aspects of

law enforcement required federal intervention. Good examples are the dope traffic and kidnaping. Also, as the population became more mobile and less individually self-sufficient, the people recognized the inability of the states to provide even minimum personal security.

The result has been the enactment of social security, unemployment compensation, and other laws designed to give the citizens a minimum of security from the fear of want. As the people realized that many of their problems were regional in nature, the people demanded through their elected representatives that such great regional projects as the Tennessee Valley Authority be established through the Federal Government. In this brief statement, we cannot even begin to list the many areas in which the Federal Government has been called upon to play a role. Roads, school and hospital construction, airports, basic medical research, are only a few of the matters with which the people have insisted that the Federal Government concern itself. (*Applause*)

Mr. Murray: Thank you very much, Congressman Bolling. Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure you will agree that, at the outset, we have a direct clash and conflict of opinion. And I would like to bring it to a head by recalling some of the pertinent statements made, and then asking Mr. Brownson if he would wish to take up the cudgels on one specific point.

You will remember that in your opening statement, Mr. Brownson, you indicated that in your opinion in the past two decades there has been far too large a measure of government centered in Washington. Now directly opposing your views, Mr. Bolling has stated time

and again in his opening remarks that in his opinion the people demanded more government in Washington to preserve, as he said, their rights and freedoms. Now, how do you feel about that opinion?

Congressman Brownson: Well, I feel that the situation has not changed too greatly. We talk about modern methods of transportation, but, fundamentally, I don't think we are too far wrong if we consider something that Thomas Jefferson once said. He said this about 150 years ago, when the country consisted of 21 states and 5,300,000 people.

He said, "Our country is too large to have all its affairs directed by a single government. Public servants at such a distance and from under the eye of their constituents must, from the circumstance of distance, be unable to administer and overlook the details necessary for the good government of the citizens. And by the same circumstance, by rendering detection impossible to their constituents, will invite the public agents to corruption, plunder, and waste." In my opinion, that still works.

Mr. Murray: Congressman Bolling, do you feel that that can be reconciled with your statement?

Congressman Bolling: I don't agree with what Mr. Brownson has said at all. It seems to me . . .

Mr. Murray: Mr. Jefferson, I think . . .

Congressman Bolling: But his quotation and his implication that the situation is today the same. It seems to me very clear that there is a vast difference between a Congressman in Washington today, who, even though he come from the West Coast, can be back in his district in a matter of hours,

where if he came from the most far distant district in Jefferson's time, it would take him a similar number of weeks or days.

I think that is one good illustration of a change that has taken place with increased speed in communications. I don't believe that a constituent of mine, or of Mr. Brownson's, or of anybody else in the Congress, is ignorant of what the Congressman does or what his government does. It seems to me very clear that today the newspapers, magazines, radio, television and other media make it eminently clear to constituents what's going on in Washington.

Congressman Brownson: Well, Congressman Bolling, you have a very good point there, but I believe that what Jefferson was talking about is the constituent having an opportunity to come down and look over the shoulder of his Congressman to find out what he is doing, not what the Congressman chooses to tell him when he goes back home. In other words, the state legislature is right there; any of the constituency, who can afford to, come there, observe them, talk with them, counsel with them. Unfortunately they can't do that with government situated in Washington.

Congressman Bolling: We have an excellent system of mails, telegrams, and long-distance telephones, and I am very pleased that I have never found that my constituents were the least bit reluctant to tell me what they wanted me to do, and what they were thinking about. I don't believe that that particular quotation from Jefferson bears on this situation, because I think in the 150 years since Jefferson made that statement this country has changed enormously.

It has changed from a primarily agricultural, rural country to a very complex industrial nation, in which 65 per cent of the people, as I understand it, now live in urban areas. I think it is very clear that we have a drastically different country. I suspect that the Tennessee Valley Authority in itself, all by itself, has amounted to more government interference than there was in the whole Federal Government in Jefferson's time.

Mr. Murray: Would you care to comment on that, Congressman Brownson?

Congressman Brownson: Yes, if you want to get a little bit more up to date with your authorities, I can quote a man who made a little speech back in 1930. He said the preservation of this home rule by the states isn't the cry of jealous commonwealths seeking their own aggrandizement at the expense of sister states; it is a fundamental necessity if we are to remain a truly united country. And that man was a little more modern, that was Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Congressman Bolling: I must say I was expecting to have Mr. Roosevelt quoted, and I expect later to have Mr. Stevenson quoted.

Congressman Brownson: I trust you will reciprocate with a little Lincoln. (*Applause*)

Congressman Bolling: I have, unfortunately, no gems to return. The thing, it seems to me, that we are talking about now is specifics. We talk in general about how in theory we should return some of these things to the states. I would like to get down to the brass tacks of this. What are we to return? Are we to sell, as Clarence Manion, the Chairman of the President's Commission on

Intergovernmental Relations suggested, on a television program not long ago, are we to sell the Tennessee Valley Authority to private power interests? Are we to eliminate the rural electrification program? Are we to stop the grants-in-aid to roads? To schools? Are we to stop the Hill-Burton Act, which is helping to create . . .

Congressman Brownson: I am glad that you brought up that Hill-Burton Act. The Hill-Burton Act, you know, was originally passed with a duration of five years, and was supposed to cost a total, I believe, of 75 million dollars; it has been renewed ever since. The contingent liability under that Act is now up in excess of a half billion, probably up nearly a billion dollars. We have a unique way out there in Indianapolis of building hospitals.

We are building 12 million dollars' worth right now, and every cent of that money was raised in one year in a local campaign. So when we build that hospital, we in Indianapolis will say how the medicine will be practiced there, and we in Indianapolis will control it. We feel that money sent down to Washington comes back with such a high taxi fare for the round trip that we hardly recognize the sums that we send down. (*Applause*)

Congressman Bolling: I remember in your opening statement, Mr. Brownson, that you quoted that very energetic resolution of the Indiana state legislature. I have before me a breakdown of the figures with a total of the number of millions of dollars that the state of Indiana in the year 1951 accepted from the Federal Government. The total amount is 85 million. And I would, if I may, like to read briefly what some of

these programs are, and I doubt very seriously if Mr. Brownson, or the Indiana State Legislature, would like to turn back this money.

There are a number of things under agriculture—agriculture experiment stations, co-operative agricultural extension work, forest fire co-operation, agricultural conservation program, the national school milk and lunch program, the CAA Federal Airport Program, public roads, National Guard, Unemployment Compensation, Colleges for Agriculture and Mechanical Arts, co-operative vocational education rehabilitation, old-age assistance, aid to dependent children, aid to the blind, maternal and child health services, services for crippled children, child welfare services, hospital survey planning and construction, maintenance and operation of schools, survey and school construction.

Now I am curious when we get down to the specifics, despite that fine resolution that the Indiana State Legislature passed in 1947, whether they would really like, or whether the people of Indiana would like, to be deprived of these funds.

Congressman Brownson: Well, the people of Indiana never get quite as much of them as the people of Missouri, unfortunately. (*Applause*)

Congressman Bolling: We like them!

Congressman Brownson: Of course that may have been the political complexion of that particular era to which you refer. However, I will say this that you have hit at the very nut of the problem, and the whole problem that faces Dean Manion and his commission is simply this: to work out an orderly scheme whereby

responsibilities can be turned back to the states on a time schedule which also turns back sources of revenue. And those two must be coincided very carefully.

Now your state obviously can't afford to take over those programs, when Uncle Sam is dipping into every known source of revenue for the states. In fact, there is only one source of revenue that the states have, or that the United States Government has, that isn't also used by one of the states, and that is the collection of customs which is specifically forbidden by the Constitution. So if you will give us a little bit of our money back at home, we would be very happy to finance a program.

Congressman Bolling: I am really intensely complimented. Here is a member of the majority party pleading with me to give him certain things. (*Applause*)

Congressman Brownson: Well, of course we are 275 billion dollars in the hole right now, so I think it is probably good to talk to some of you people that put us there. (*Applause*)

Congressman Bolling: You don't want to get too far diverted, but you know very well that all of that debt, with the exception of \$60 billion, was built up during World War Two.

Mr. Murray: Gentlemen, if we can terminate for a moment this exchange of compliments, perhaps, Congressman Brownson and Congressman Bolling, we could, in a specific way, discuss some precise points or precise kinds of present government control, which in your opinion, Congressman Brownson, since you oppose them, should be returned to the states. Would you care to list them so that we could have your clash of views on specific items?

Congressman Brownson: Let me talk about one here, the grants to states for administration of the public employment service and unemployment compensation activities in the states. They are made now under the authority of the Wagner-Peyser Act of 1933 and the Social Security Act. Now federal revenues from this three-tenths of one per cent tax have constantly exceeded the annual grants. In fiscal year 1952, for example, the revenues were 259 million as compared with the grants of 186 million.

If this tax source were transferred to the states, along with the responsibility for financing the administrative costs of the activities, practically every state would have more than enough funds to do a better job than is being done under the present grant system.

Mr. Murray: Do you agree, Congressman Bolling?

Congressman Bolling: I think we have got to raise a very fundamental point right here. There seems to be the implication in the statement that the state governments are prepared to maintain the high standards that the Federal Government has provided in the administration of these acts. I think it is important for us to remember that there is a very curious situation that exists in most state legislatures; it exists there even more than it does in the Federal Congress, and that is that there is a rural gerrymander. In other words, despite the fact that 65 per cent of the people of the United States now live in urban areas, they only elect a little bit more than 25 per cent of the members of the state legislatures.

Now that impact goes on up to the Federal Congress to a degree, but we have tremendous over-

representation. In my own state, a rural county has a great deal more weight, and the vote of an individual person in that rural county has a great deal more weight in the state legislature than does the vote of the average urban dweller. Now this is not representative government. We have, in addition, the problem of antiquated state constitutions, which are not as flexible as the Federal Constitution, and I think that raises a very serious and fundamental problem as to the ability of the states to handle certain affairs.

Mr. Murray: Congressman Brownson, do you agree with Congressman Bolling that the state situation would have to be improved before your suggested return of power could be achieved?

Congressman Brownson: I am beginning to understand now why Congressman Bolling's party has been working so diligently on the farm vote for the last few weeks. Yes, I do agree; it is a statistical reality; it does exist. It does exist to a great degree in Congress. The rural areas are represented to a greater degree in Congress than their present proportion in the population would probably indicate. However, I think we are going to have to face this thing on a more fundamental issue than that.

The issue is this. This is a republic. The states got together, reserved certain rights to themselves, and set up a Congress carefully controlled, as they thought, as to what it could do. It was a confederation of states, if you please, and if we are going on with this theory that Congressman Bolling advances, then we are going to take the states' power away from them, just because a few things don't happen to be

working out right now to suit us in some of the areas concerned. I believe we are committing a very real transgression on constitutional principles.

It seems to me that if the thing isn't working perfectly, our problem is to correct it. And possibly, if the states were given some revenue and some responsibility jointly, a higher type of individualism would be willing to run for the legislature, more interest would develop, and on the basis of that citizenship participation, you could get the redistricting. But when everything comes out of Washington on a silver spoon, I have an idea that many citizens shrug their shoulders and say, what is the particular difference who is in the state legislature? All they are is a means for distributing the federal funds after they get here anyway.

Congressman Bolling: I don't feel that anything comes out of Washington on a silver spoon. I think everybody in the United States realizes very well that the money that is spent from Washington is the taxpayers' dollar, and those dollars come from somewhere; and I think that the people of this country realize where they are coming from.

But I do think that we have to recognize that the problem is a fundamental one, that the states have allowed their state constitutions, their state governments, the problem of salary, the problem of representation, to degenerate in such a way that there are some states which are really very little competent to furnish adequate representative government to their people. I think that the people in a case like that have a perfect right to turn to that agency of government within the framework

of the democratic process which can best serve their interest.

Mr. Murray: Well, gentlemen, as perhaps you know, each week Town Meeting presents a handsome twenty-volume set of the American People's Encyclopedia to a listener who submits the most provocative and timely question pertinent to the subject under discussion.

Tonight's question comes from Mr. Allan Fisher, 1331 G Street, N.W., Washington, D. C., and here is the question which Mr. Fisher submits: "Is there an important relation between the yielding of state power and the extent to which a state seeks and accepts financial or other aid from the Federal Government?" In other words, I think Mr. Fisher is inquiring whether or not the states have the right to demand more sovereignty on the one hand and to run to the Federal Government every time they are in a crisis, on the other hand. Mr. Bolling, would you like to answer that question, first?

Congressman Bolling: I think that is an extremely pertinent question. I think it goes to the heart of the matter. I believe my illustration of the state of Indiana and its resolution, and the fact that in 1951 it accepted 85 million dollars, is a good answer to the question. I would like at this point to clear up the fact that Alabama had over 126 million and Missouri over 160 million in the same year, in grants-in-aid.

But I think it is very, very clear that that is the heart of the problem. I believe that this states'

rights issue in many respects has become a political football, a political propaganda device. I think that when we get down to specifics there are relatively few people who desire to turn back, to eliminate the services now being performed co-operatively by the states and the Federal Government.

Congressman Brownson: Of course, I can't help but refute that a little bit. It's a strange type of co-operation, because the power to grant or withhold these large sums of money which rests with the Federal Government is a very real and a very terrible power. Now as far as the question is concerned, I think there is very definitely a relationship. I think there are many of our states and many of our localities where they have learned that money sent to Washington comes back much diminished and where they are waging as intensive a fight as they can to replace the money that they get from Washington with local funds.

Of course as long as that money is siphoned out, Dick, as you know, it is impossible for the government of Indiana, of Alabama, or anywhere else, to take over these responsibilities as long as Uncle Sam has his long hand in their pocket-book and as long as the money is pouring out. You are going to have to phase this program so that when the responsibility goes back likewise goes the money to pay for it. And Indiana has figured out that we would save 32 million dollars a year if we were allowed to handle our own business instead of sending it to Washington and getting it back.

QUESTIONS, PLEASE!

Mr. Murray: Now we come, ladies and gentlemen, to the most provocative portion of Town Meeting of the Air, wherein we entertain questions from our audience here at Auburn directed to our distinguished guests. May I have the first question, please, from the gentleman in the front?

Questioner: Congressman Brownson, don't you think that there are large-scale projects which would be handled better by the Federal Government than by the states—TVA or the Columbia River Project, for instance?

Congressman Brownson: There is some justification in that approach, yes. However, we have had a record of many states in the United States voluntarily associating themselves in area or valley projects which are of a geographical nature that are too large to be encompassed within the borders of any one state. There are many, many other areas that I believe will have to be worked on first before we approach that particular area. Eventually, co-operation within a group of states is possible to take over that type of project, but it is not in my opinion the top priority.

Questioner: Representative Bolling, should taxpayers over the nation foot the bills for regional projects such as TVA?

Congressman Bolling: I have no hesitation in answering that question. Yes. It seems to me very clear that TVA and projects like it have added to the strength of the nation as a whole, as well as to the strength of the regions in which they were built.

Questioner: Congressman Brownson, has not the increasing federal

power been a logical and a necessary sequence pledged to our economic well-being and pledged to our national security?

Congressman Brownson: Yes, as a matter of fact, it has been, and that is exactly how it grew up. World War I started it; the depression which caught the local governments, the counties, and the states in very bad financial situation added to it; World War II increased it. But the point I am getting at is this, in the case of these federal payments to the states, the Federal Government never cuts them back. Every year since 1937, the annual amounts in these grants have increased without fail—during prosperity, during depression, during war, and during peace. What I am getting at is that this has to stop somewhere, because it is climbing up and up, and up to where 25 percent of all the state revenues come from the Federal Government today, and that is very close to the danger point.

Questioner: Representative Bolling, do you think the Federal Government has a right to interfere with segregation laws in state public schools?

Congressman Bolling: That is certainly and clearly a question that is before the courts—a constitutional question—and I try to avoid answering questions like that when they are in the courts. I have my own views in the matter of segregation, but the matter is before the courts today.

Questioner: Congressman Brownson, since some states are rich and some are poor, does not federal taxation and program spending

tend to equalize benefits to the good of the entire country?

Congressman Brownson: Except for one thing, and that is the tremendous amount that is taken out of the over-all contribution for overhead. There was a time, I think, when there was a much greater disparity between the wealth of the states than there is now. But here is what I would rather see. If a state needs help, let's take Wyoming, for example, which is a very thinly populated state; Nevada, where the Federal Government owns a great deal of the land. If they need help, let us give them help in a lump, as such, and not force the same kind of aid on the other states that do not need it at the same time. That is the difference between emergency help and a program of big Federal Government.

Questioner: Congressman Brownson, how do you, yourself, feel about the proposed federal sales tax?

Congressman Brownson: I am unutterably opposed to the federal sales tax. It has been my experience in my brief lifetime that every time a tax has been added to replace another tax, by some strange coincidence both taxes go on down the road together.

Mr. Murray: Congressman Bolling, would you like to comment on that?

Congressman Bolling: I would like to agree with Mr. Brownson in this one point. (*Applause*)

Questioner: Congressman Bolling, isn't a great part of the complexities of government that you spoke of caused by too many federal agencies doing the states' work and issuing too many and conflicting orders, in so doing?

Congressman Bolling: Well, it

certainly wasn't my idea to speak of the complexities of government, although government certainly is complex. I was talking about the complexity of the society. I believe that the society is today a great deal more complex than it was 150 years ago; I believe that there has been some inefficiency in the Federal Government, just as there is in all levels of government.

I think we would all agree that we should do everything possible to achieve the greatest economy and efficiency, but ordinarily the attacks on efficiency and economy in government are aimed not to increase efficiency and economy but aimed to destroy the programs administered by those agencies under attack, and I am for the programs.

Congressman Brownson: Do you mean, Dick, that those programs can't be administered by people who live at home? As I remember it, the original welfare programs were administered first from the church; later on, the community took them over; eventually, the state took them over. They got along very well without having somebody from Washington tell us that we needed to be neighborly; they took care of those people when they needed help.

Congressman Bolling: I am not so sure that I would agree that in some of the periods of this nation's history that we got along so well with the charity programs. It seems to me that I remember pretty vividly, in this part of the country in which I was growing up at the time, that there was very acute hardship in the early thirties, which was *not* successfully handled by the states, or the towns, or by any other agency. And I don't yearn for the good old days

in that respect. I think we are doing pretty well these days. Although I think we could have increased efficiency and economy, I do not believe that we can return to those days before when people who were starving were allowed to starve.

Congressman Brownson: I don't think that anybody wants to see people starve today, but I am not so sure that the tremendous federal overhead and the forcing of the federal will on the local agencies is operating to prevent them from starving as much as it is complicating and making the program too expensive.

Congressman Bolling: I am not prepared to concede that we forced the federal will on a great many people in a great many areas. I think that the majority rule that exists in the Congress of the United States expresses the will of the majority of the people of the United States in these programs. Occasionally, we run into irresponsible bureaucrats, but Congress, which, after all, represents the people, pretty quickly catches up with them.

Questioner: I would like to ask Representative Brownson about his statement about the report of Indiana, how they could save so much money. I would just like to ask, when did the people of Indiana discover that the United States was a confederation of states. It seems to me that in 1775 they decided to abolish that fact.

Congressman Brownson: Oh, you don't think we are a confederation of states?

Questioner: Well, it seems we are trying to get into one main unit.

Congressman Brownson: I would say that Mr. Jefferson and Mr.

Jackson and Mr. Madison are rolling over in their graves right now at a rather rapid rate of speed. As a matter of fact, Alexander Hamilton was the one who presented your viewpoint, and he was pretty well beaten down. In fact, it was at that particular time that Jefferson in the case on the constitutionality of the government bank made one of his other statements: "I consider the foundation of the Constitution of the United States is laid on this ground, that all powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited to the states, are reserved to the states, or to the people." And that was one of the first great reaffirmations of the tenth amendment.

Questioner: But it seems to me like you are splitting the big part down into the little teensy weensy parts, which is what . . .

Mr. Murray: Are you doing that, Congressman Brownson?

Congressman Brownson: Of course, I am inclined to think that she's got a good point there, because I have noticed that invariably big government makes for little people.

Congressman Bolling: That seems to be the favorite quote of your fellow Hoosier, Clarence Manion, the chairman that I mentioned of that inter-government relations committee, and I don't agree with that, because I don't think that this government we have in Washington is any less the peoples' than is the government in the state of Alabama. There is one point that we didn't get to earlier, and that is I think it very important for the states that are wealthier perhaps to assist those states which have their difficulties economically, with the aim of getting national strength. I think it

is very important to recognize the factor of equalization.

Mr. Murray: Gentlemen, we have time, I think, for one more question.

Questioner: Representative Brownson, is it true that the Republican Administration plans to turn the federal TVA over to private power companies? If so, who will be the gainer—the power companies or the people of the TVA regions?

Congressman Brownson: We have had several people who have attacked Government in business. As a matter of fact, you know the Government is the biggest power company, the biggest landlord, the biggest transportation operator in the world today; we have 40 billion dollars' worth of Federal businesses. I haven't heard seriously any of our leadership make any attack on the TVA or any attempt to turn the TVA back at this particular time. In the first place, we have a lot of other much more pressing and smaller Government businesses that are losing the taxpayers' money year after year, like the barge lines. So I'm not particularly worried about that as an imminent problem, and I haven't heard any of the responsible leadership express that viewpoint.

Mr. Murray: Do you want to make a final comment, Congressman Bolling?

Congressman Bolling: I have to. I assume that the man that President Eisenhower appointed as the chairman of the commission to study this particular matter, Clarence Manion, would have to be considered an important person, and he made it very clear on a television program not long ago that he thought the TVA ought to be sold to private power companies.

Congressman Brownson: Of course, Dick, Dean Manion is an outstanding Democrat of Indiana who went for Eisenhower, but I am sure you will pardon us if the Republicans don't take our leadership from him.

Mr. Murray: On that note, gentlemen, I will have to thank you for your highly informative discussion. Our thanks this evening to Dr. Ralph B. Draughon, President of Alabama Polytechnic Institute, and Miss Katharine Cater, and Dr. Charles P. Anson of the Lectures and Concerts Committee, for their fine co-operation. Our appreciation also to Mr. Elmer G. Salter and his staff at Station WAUD.





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